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Africa and Acts of Dissent

By WILLIAM ATTWOOD
and JAMES I. LOEB

WASHINGTON—We were the only two ambassadors named by President Kennedy to represent him in the young Republic of Guinea in West Africa. We accepted these assignments in part because of his keen interest in Guinea and his personal relationship with the country's President, Sékou Touré.

We went to Guinea to help the country which, at that time, was the symbol of African Independence, especially in West Africa. During our successive missions, covering a period from early 1961 through most of 1965, the first of us initiated and the second carried on a substantial program of economic assistance to Guinea, indeed one of the largest per capita aid programs this country had in all of Africa.

What is especially noteworthy is that at no time did the United States lay down any political conditions for our economic assistance despite the fact that President Touré's generally Marxist political pronouncements seemed hardly in accord with American thinking. But it should be added that Mr. Touré's proclaimed neutralism was usually genuine in practice, notably in the case of his courageous refusal to permit Soviet planes to land at the Conakry airport (whose jet airstrip was constructed by the Russians) on the way to Havana during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. Obviously a number of other African leaders, more outwardly sympathetic to American policies, were unhappy about the extent of our aid to Guinea.

However, even with economic assistance from the United States and other countries on both sides of what used to be called the Iron Curtain, and despite the substantial natural resources of Guinea and considerable private investment, Guinea's economy has steadily declined, especially in comparison with that of other African countries. Many African chiefs of state, devoted friends of Guinea and of President Touré, have been shocked to observe this decline over the past ten years.

We would not presume to analyze all the reasons for Guinea's economic failure, except to suggest that President Touré's concept of independence was so total—even Guinea's currency became "independent" and consequently worthless—that it became both unrealistic and artificial in this modern world of interdependence. No country—surely not the United States or the People's Republic of China or the Soviet Union—can afford to act within the context of Sékou Touré's concept of independence.

Some dissent from the present policies of the Government exists within Guinea. But the question that concerns us, and should concern all those who have an affection for Africa in general and for Guinea in particular, is: How is this dissent dealt with?

We have been appalled to hear of the continued executions that are taking place in Guinea, and to learn of "another round of executions" expected momentarily. The brutality with which these executions have been carried out, with public hangings in Conakry and in the villages, only adds to our sense of shock.

Guinean Government leaders with whom we worked and whom we knew as honest patriots have been executed; others are still in jail but condemned to death; others, more fortunate, are in exile but condemned to death in absentia. It would appear that a whole generation of the best-trained Guineans has been marked for extinction.

Recently those jailed have recited endless and fantastic confessions of their "acts of treason" over the Government radio station, and these confessions have been printed in the only daily paper in Guinea, Horoya. We are hardly encouraged to believe these "confessions" when we read, in the confession of Karim Bangoura, whom we both knew as the very effective Guinean Ambassador to the United States, that "my joining the C.I.A. took place in 1964 in Washington" and that "my final recruiting was effected with the latter [former Ambassador to Guinea Attwood] and it was with him that we worked out the question of financial and material benefits." There follows a long list of services and financial pay-offs amounting to literally millions of dollars. In point of fact, Ambassador Bangoura at no time asked for nor was offered a pay-off of any kind by either of us nor was he ever "recruited" to our knowledge by or for any U. S. agency.

Where is all this going to lead? The estimates of those executed or jailed run as high as 6,000. Is it too much to urge, at the very least, that those Guineans, along with their families, whose dissent the Guinean Government cannot tolerate within Guinea, be exiled?

Meanwhile, we would suggest that the attempt to eliminate dissent by brutal execution will be no more effective in Guinea in the long run than it has in so many other countries in both the Communist orbit and the so-called free world.

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2 Ex-Guinea Envoys 'Confess' Work for CIA

STATINTL

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

A sweeping investigation of internal opposition to the regime of President Sekou Toure of Guinea has resulted in what are alleged to be "confessions" by two former Guinean ambassadors to the United States that they were working for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Bangoura Karim, who served here from 1963 to 1969, and his successor, Fadiala Keita, who returned to Guinea last April, said in their confessions that they had been recruited here and paid monthly stipends of \$5,000 and \$2,000 respectively.

In addition Bangoura alleged that final arrangements for his hiring were made through William Attwood, U.S. ambassador to Guinea under President Kennedy, and currently publisher of the Long Island newspaper Newsday.

Both men now face death sentences as a result of their confessions.

Bangoura's case has aroused special interest and concern at the State Department, as well as within the African diplomatic community, because he is widely regarded as having been one of the most effective and energetic African ambassadors ever to have served here.

U.S. officials are worried that the alleged confessions could lead to complications in relations with Guinea at a time of growing involvement by American companies in the mining of huge bauxite deposits there.

A small nation about the size of Oregon and with a population of 3.7 million, Guinea contains one-third of the world's known reserves of high-grade bauxite. Toure has tried to carry out a "socialist revolution" and to become a revolutionary pace-setter in Africa, while depending heavily on private American companies to exploit the country's vast mineral resources.

As is its policy in all such disclosures, the CIA refuses to make any comment on the confession. But the State Department says they are "false and totally unfounded."

Asked about his alleged role in hiring Bangoura as a CIA agent, Attwood commented that the confession was "so fantastic" that he could "only be telling his friends abroad that it was obtained under duress."

The alleged confessions came in the form of depositions given to "revolutionary courts" that are currently probing the connection between internal foes of the Toure regime and the attempted invasion of the country by 300 Portuguese-trained and led Guinean exiles one year ago.

The invading force, reportedly ferried in World War II LST landing craft from neighboring Portuguese Guinea, stormed the capital of Conakry early on the morning of Nov. 22, destroying the president's summer villa, killing 300 Guineans, and nearly toppling Toure's 13-year-old "socialist" regime.

Since that time, the government has arrested over 250 top party, army, and government officials and charged them with complicity in what Toure calls an "imperialistic Portuguese aggression" aimed at his overthrow. Seventeen out of 35 ministers and nine-tenths of the officers in the top army command have been arrested.

Beginning in late July when the government began a "people's trial" of accused "fifth columnists," between 100 and 120 Guineans—army commanders, ministers, party officials, and ambassadors—have made long, detailed confessions in which many have admitted being agents for either the French, West German, or American secret intelligence services.

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state-run radio, and published in Horoya, the daily newspaper of the ruling Democratic Party of Guinea.

The precise conditions under which the confessions were extracted remains a mystery, but according to some press reports from Conakry the accused were deprived of all food and water for days before being interrogated.

In his deposition, printed in Horoya on Aug. 31, Bangoura gave the following details about how and when he was recruited by the CIA:

"My adherence to the CIA took place in 1964 in Washington, where I was posted as ambassador of my country since Feb. 4, 1963. The intermediary was Diallo Sory, a native of Guinea living in New York as a restaurant owner for 30 years. This man, well-known in American circles even within the State Department, made use of his relations with one of my personal friends, Attwood, the former (U.S.) ambassador to Guinea.

"In fact, my recruitment was ultimately arranged through this latter person (Attwood), and it was with him that we settled the question of financial and material rewards."

In addition to the initial \$50,000 payment and monthly stipend of \$5,000, he said he was paid \$157,000 for "exceptional services" by the CIA and American mining companies seeking to gain access to Guinean bauxite and iron ore deposits.

Altogether, he received a total of \$657,000 from the CIA and various American companies, according to his statement. Among the companies he mentioned specifically are Harvey Aluminum, Alcan, Alcoa, and U. S. Steel.

The first three companies are all involved in an international consortium that has a \$185 million bauxite-mining project under way at Boke in

Bangoura said that the tasks assigned to him by the CIA included the following: developing close, preferential relations between Guinea and the United States; facilitating American investments in the country; promoting economic exchanges between the two states; and encouraging the visits of Guineans to this country and of Americans to Guinea.

He also stated in his confession that he had been informed of last November's invasion plan almost a month ahead of time and assigned the task of looking for ministers willing to serve in a new government, presumably after Toure's ouster.

He singled out West Germany, France, and Portugal as the principal countries backing the invasion and made no mention of direct U.S. involvement. This fits neatly the government's official thesis regarding the invasion and its foreign supporters.

According to Bangoura's confession, the money he received from the CIA and American mining companies was deposited in an account with the "American Security Bank of Washington" bearing the number 01-124-86-726. All these financial transactions were allegedly carried out "under the cover" of Thomas H. Wright Jr., whose address Bangoura gave as the Ford Foundation in New York.

In telephone interviews, Attwood and Wright, both of whom vehemently denied the allegations, pointed to a number of factual errors which they said Bangoura's confession contained regarding their alleged roles.

Attwood said he could not possibly have been involved in recruiting the Guinean ambassador in 1964 because at that time he was serving as U.S. ambassador to Kenya.

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